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THE CASTRO REGIME IN CUBA

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SUMMARY [CONCLUSION]

From the time the Castro regime came to power on January 1, 1959, it has deliberately tried to undermine established governments in Latin America and destroy the inter-American system. In the process it has associated itself with the Sino-Soviet bloc in an active partnership and adopted totalitarian policies and techniques to cement dictatorial control over the Cuban people. This situation confronts the nations of the Western Hemisphere with a grave and urgent challenge.

The challenge does not stem from the fact that the Castro regime came to power by revolution or that it advocates social and economic reform. The world welcomed the fall of Batista and the advent of a new government which promised political freedom and social justice for the Cuban people and respect for Cuba's international obligations. The challenge results from the fact that the Castro regime has betrayed its own revolution by delivering it into the hands of powers alien to the hemisphere and by transforming it into an instrument deliberately intended to suppress the hope of the Cuban people for a return to representative democracy and to subvert established governments of other American Republics.

Since August 1960, when the Foreign Ministers of the American Republics considered the problem of Cuba and the Castro regime rejected the decisions taken,⁵² this pattern has crystallized with alarming rapidity and unmistakable clarity. The leaders of the Castro regime now frankly admit and publicly proclaim that their revolutionary dogma is to be exported with the objective of bringing about Castro-like revolutions in all the American Republics. The activities of Cuban diplomats and other agents, the training of foreigners in Cuba in sabotage and subversive techniques, and the intensive propaganda campaign throughout the hemisphere clearly demonstrate the manner in which the ground is being prepared in other countries for such action.

During this period the Castro regime has established such extensive and intimate political-military, economic and cultural ties with the Soviet Union, Communist China and the countries associated with them as to render Cuba an appendage of the communist system. Far from rejecting the efforts of the Sino-Soviet bloc to exploit social and political problems within this hemisphere, the Castro regime is working with the international communist movement to advance this exploitation.

Ideologically, the Castro government has placed Cuba in the communist camp. This was clearly demonstrated in the Cuban-Soviet joint communique of December 19, 1960⁵³ in which the two countries endorsed their respective domestic and foreign policies and pledged

to work together. On May 1, 1961, Dr. Fidel Castro proclaimed Cuba to be a "socialist" state. The brand of "socialism" referred to is not, of course, Western social democracy but rather the second stage in the newly proclaimed communist three-stage theory of political evolution: national liberation, socialism, and communism.

The Castro regime has established diplomatic relations with all the members of the Sino-Soviet bloc, except East Germany. It is currently engaged in an extraordinary military buildup which has literally transformed the country into an armed camp. Cuba's ground forces are now larger than those of any other country in Latin America, and at least ten times greater than those maintained under the Batista regime. The receipt of thousands of tons of military equipment from the Sino-Soviet bloc made this possible.

Through a series of trade and financial agreements, the Castro regime has moved toward the adaptation of Cuba's economy and industrial plant to that of the Sino-Soviet bloc. The major result of the trip of Major Guevara to Moscow during the last two months of 1960 was to reorient Cuba's trade toward the bloc and plan the reorganization of the Cuban economy in accordance with the communist design. The degree to which Cuba has become economically dependent on the bloc is evidenced by the fact that approximately 80 percent of its trade is now tied up in barter arrangements with Iron Curtain countries. At the beginning of 1960 only two percent of Cuba's total foreign trade was with the bloc.

Culturally, the Castro regime is rapidly orienting Cuba toward the Sino-Soviet bloc. This orientation is not taking the form of a mere cultural interchange with communist countries such as several Western nations are conducting. On the contrary, the emerging pattern is one of extensive cultural identification with the bloc in which Cuban cultural patterns are being rapidly altered and the traditional cultural ties with countries of this hemisphere and Western Europe deliberately severed. This is to be seen in the comprehensive cultural agreements with bloc countries, the increasing exchange of students, performing artists and exhibitions with the Soviet Union and Communist China and their satellites, the impediments placed before students wishing to study anywhere except in Iron Curtain countries, the virtual halting of the flow of movies, books and magazines from free countries with a commensurate rise in the influx of these materials from the Sino-Soviet bloc, and the attacks on Western culture in general and that of United States in particular.

As a bridgehead of Sino-Soviet imperialism within the inner defenses of the Western Hemisphere, Cuba under the Castro regime represents a serious threat to the individual and collective security of the American Republics and by extension to the security of nations anywhere in the world opposing the spread of that imperialism.

The Soviet authorities told the Cuban delegation of the admiration of the people and government of the Soviet Union for the Cuban people, who, under the leadership of Fidel Castro, have established a democracy deeply rooted in the people of a land that had for many years been under the imperialist rule of the United States of America.

Both parties realize that this creates a new situation in the Americas, and that the struggle of the Cuban people to be independent and to maintain their gains without losing ground is an example for the other nations of the Western Hemisphere and for Asia and Africa as well.

The Soviet nation realizes perfectly well the difficult road that Cuba must follow to ensure the happiness of its people under hostile military, political and economic conditions. In the political field, there is pressure by the United States on other Latin American countries to break relations with Cuba and isolate it from its neighboring American republics, and from the countries of Europe, Asia and Africa.

In the economic field, there is the failure of the United States to keep its commitment to buy Cuban sugar under the old trade quotas, which were established at the will of American imperialists themselves when Cuba was merely its colony.

There is, too, the establishment of a ban on exports from the United States to Cuba, exports necessary to its development and general well-being and to supply its industries and feed the Cuban people; the adoption of measures by the United States with respect to the establishment by other countries of embargoes in their trade relations with Cuba, with a view to preventing the Americas and Europe, through coercive measures, from trading openly with Cuba.

Direct military threats have been made by top-ranking representatives of the government of the United States of America; there have been pirate air incursions; bombing of the Cuban people and industries; the dropping of napalm and other incendiary bombs on sugar plantations, principal source of the nation's wealth; support of invasions of Cuba from United States soil with the intention and for the deliberate purpose of disturbing the peaceful development of the country; aid to counterrevolutionaries operating in Cuba as mere gangsters, stealing from Cuba means of transportation and killing those responsible for their custody, in order to be received as heroes in United States territory; support of counterrevolutionary groups operating in the country against lawfully established government, which groups receive all kinds of supplies from the United States, delivered by military aircraft from the United States itself and

bearing

For its part, the Soviet Union recognized the contributions which Cuba had made to the furtherance of communist objectives in Latin America, under the leadership of the Castro regime:

Soviet authorities expressed to the Cuban delegation the admiration which the people and government of the Soviet Union feel toward the Cuban people, who under the leadership of Fidel Castro have established a democracy deeply rooted in a people whose territory for many years had been under the control of the imperialist government of the United States of America... [and] recognize that this creates a new situation in America and that the fight of the Cuban people for their independence and to maintain their gains, without a backward step, constitutes an example for other peoples of the American continent and also for Asia and Africa.

The communique concluded with an enumeration and endorsement by Major Guevara of the principal foreign policy objectives of the Soviet Union. Major Guevara accepted, on behalf of the Castro regime, the obligation to support "resolutely peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems," the Soviet euphemism for a policy of infiltration and subversion of non-communist states.

The breadth of the commitments which Cuba and the Soviet Union accepted in this communique were the culmination of two years of effort by the Soviet Union and by the communist elements in the Castro regime to make Cuba dependent on, and an appendage of, the Sino-Soviet bloc.

The third development is the proclamation of Cuba as a "socialist" state. On April 30, 1961 Major Guevara declared that the Castro movement was "the first socialist revolution in Latin America." During his May Day speech Fidel Castro made his regime's position perfectly clear when he spoke of "our Socialist Revolution". He also declared that in view of the new system in Cuba, a radically new constitution would be prepared. "The new social system is called socialism," he said, "and this constitution will therefore be a socialist constitution."

Dr. Castro and his principal lieutenants, when they speak of "socialist revolution", obviously do not refer to a form of Western democratic socialism operating within a framework of representative democracy and respect for individual liberties. They have in mind, and practice, the brand of "socialism" described by Aníbal Escalante, Executive Secretary of the Cuban Communist Party, in the analysis of the Cuban Revolution which he made on May 7, 1961. He said:

In what period does the Cuban Revolution find itself? What is its character? Well, Fidel said it the other day without much fanfare ... Fidel proclaimed that our Revolution was socialist, that it had entered its socialist phase. He was not making a promise such as "we are going to make a Socialist Revolution," no; he explained an event which has already taken place. The Cuban Revolution has passed through its first stage, the first phase of national liberation and anti-feudalism it has completed. It fulfilled its tasks with honor and entered into a new, higher stage of social development: the socialist stage. And Fidel quietly and simply so declared it to the four winds ...

And we must advance in the direction of complete social transformation of our country; it is a task which lies ahead of us. We have entered rather into a period of transition toward the culmination of the socialist bases of the revolution, we have begun to construct and to develop the socialist society.

Nor was Anibal Escalante simply voicing his own theory. He was, in effect, repeating the views outlined by Premier Khrushchev on January 6, 1961. According to Khrushchev the first stage of the "national liberation movement" in Cuba had been the overthrow of Batista. The next objective was met by the elimination, with material Communist aid and encouragement, of United States influence. Khrushchev went on to say that Cuba was then entering a new stage of indefinite duration (implying that there were further steps) in which her political and economic institutions would evolve toward socialism. This evolution, he said, was to be spurred by Communist bloc military, economic and technical aid as well as propaganda.

Diplomatic relations

Prior to the Seventh Meeting of Consultation, Cuba had already re-established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. In the space of three months after the meeting the Castro regime established relations with Red China, North Korea, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, North Viet Nam, Outer Mongolia and Albania. Cuba now maintains diplomatic relations with every Iron Curtain country except East Germany, with which it nevertheless has concluded economic and cultural agreements. Only nations of the Sino-Soviet bloc maintain relations with North Korea, and only two nations outside the communist bloc carry on diplomatic relations with North Viet Nam. The Castro regime has recognized the communist-backed government of Gizenga in the Congo.

Military relations

During the past twelve months the Castro regime has engaged in a massive military buildup. It has obtained large quantities of military equipment from the Soviet bloc and received pledges of military support from the Soviet Union and Communist China.

Bloc military hardware has made it possible for Cuba to arm a very high percentage of its population. Its ground forces are larger than those of any other American Republic, except the United States. These forces are at least ten times larger than the ones maintained by previous Cuban governments. Estimates of the size of the Cuban armed forces --army, navy, air force, police and militia-- range from 250,000 to 400,000.

The Castro regime took over a substantial quantity of military equipment from the Batista armed forces. To this stock were added considerable amounts of arms and ammunition purchased in Belgium and Italy during 1959 and early 1960. Soviet bloc arms began to arrive in mid-1960. The amount runs into tens of thousands of tons with an estimated value of from 60-100 million dollars.

During the first two weeks of January 1961 the Cuban Government displayed some of this military equipment in an eight-hour parade through Habana's streets and in military maneuvers and exercises along the north coast of Cuba. It included the following major units: 14 Soviet JS-2 51-ton tanks, 19 Soviet SU-100 assault guns, 15 Soviet T-34 35-ton tanks, 78 Soviet 76 mm field guns, 11 Soviet 85 mm field guns, 4 Soviet 122 mm field guns, and 108 Soviet 12.7 heavy machine guns. Each of the estimated 50,000 militia members who marched carried weapons, the majority of them, Czech-made submachine guns.

As Fidel Castro noted in his speech on this occasion, the equipment used in the parade represented only a "small part" of the arms which Cuba has received from the Soviet bloc. The Cuban armed forces have been re-equipped by the Soviet bloc and Cuba can now be said to be entirely dependent on the bloc for the maintenance of its armed forces. More recently the Soviet Union has supplied Cuba with considerable numbers of MIG fighters and aircraft of other types.

Both the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia have sent military advisers and technicians to Cuba to advise the Cuban armed forces on the assembly, training and employment of the bloc arms that have been furnished. It is estimated that there are at least 300 advisers and technicians now in Cuba. The highly trained military personnel, technicians and pilots in Cuba at the time the Castro regime assumed control were subsequently removed as unreliable. The Cuban Government has made arrangements with the Soviet bloc to train new pilots, artillerymen, ground maintenance crews and other personnel. By the end of August 1960, over 150 Cuban military personnel were in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union for such training. Additional personnel have been sent since that time. Cuban military personnel which require less highly skilled training, such as militia officers, are being trained in Cuba with the assistance of Soviet bloc advisers.

Before the Soviet Union began sending military equipment and technicians to Cuba, it had already threatened to use its military strength to preserve the Castro regime. On July 9, 1960 Premier Khrushchev stated:

Speaking figuratively, in case of necessity, Soviet artillerymen can support with rocket fire the Cuban people if aggressive forces in the Pentagon dare to start intervention against Cuba.

While in subsequent statements the Soviet Premier has appeared to qualify this threat, leaders of the Castro regime from time to time flaunt the warning as an indication of the support on which they believe they can count.

The Communist Chinese have also made known their intention of assisting the Castro regime. In a message published in Habana newspapers on September 30, 1960 Prime Minister Chou En-lai was quoted as saying:

I solemnly declare that in the event of necessity the Chinese Government and people will give all possible support and aid to the Cuban people....

Speaking on February 23, 1961 Major Raul Castro indicated that such aid had already been forthcoming "when Eisenhower had wanted to attack Cuba." He spoke of hundreds of machine guns received as a gift from the farmers and workers of the Chinese Peoples' Republic.

B. Economic Relations with Bloc

Although the Castro regime began re-orienting its economic planning toward the Sino-Soviet bloc as early as September 1959, the process of actually making its economy dependent on the communist countries did not gain great momentum until after the Seventh Meeting of Consultation. Now Cuba's economic planning is being patterned after the communist design. Cuba is adjusting its economy in a way to make itself an appendage of the Sino-Soviet bloc and to provide a base for Sino-Soviet commercial operations in the Western Hemisphere.

Payment and trade agreements

Major Guevara's trip to Asia and Africa during the summer of 1959 provided an opportunity for him to talk with bloc officials. Next came the Soviet Exposition held in Habana in February 1960. Soviet Vice Premier Mikoyan travelled to Cuba for the exposition and during his

visit signed a commercial agreement. Agreements with the other bloc countries promptly followed: East Germany, March 7; Poland, March 31; Czechoslovakia, June 10; Communist China, July 23; Hungary, September 15; Bulgaria, October 7; Rumania, October 26. In December 1960 Cuba entered into negotiations with the four remaining members of the communist bloc: North Korea, North Viet-Nam, Outer Mongolia and Albania. Major Guevara had said on October 21 that Albania and Outer Mongolia were not important enough to Cuba to consider economic and commercial relations, but negotiations were completed so that Cuba currently has formal economic ties with all 12 members of the Sino-Soviet bloc. The special position accorded Cuba by the bloc is reflected in the fact that it is the only country in whose favor multilateral clearing of trade with several unspecified bloc regimes has been authorized.

Technical assistance

Cuba has negotiated technical assistance agreements with Communist China and all Soviet bloc countries, except Albania. Certain countries have sent missions to Cuba to implement agreements which provide for the delivery of industrial equipment. Among these, the Czech mission has been active in an effort to establish in Cuba a branch of the Skoda works to build Czech tractors, cars and other motorized equipment that can be sold in Cuba and other Latin American countries. The Soviet Union has devoted its major effort to a study of the petroleum refinery capacity of Cuba and to a reactivation of the minerals industry.

Besides the more permanent missions, there are numerous technicians in Cuba from various bloc countries to advise Cuba on specific projects. The total number of these is not known, but it is believed to be in the vicinity of 500. They are working in such key government agencies as the National Bank of Cuba, the Central Planning Board, the National Institute for Agrarian Reform, the newly established Ministries of Industries, Foreign Trade and Domestic Trade, and in individual industrial plants and collective farms.

The number of Cubans receiving indoctrination and training in the Sino-Soviet bloc is substantial. Major Guevara said on January 6, 1961, that some 2400 Cubans would receive training in bloc countries in 1961. About 800 will go to the Soviet Union, 200 to Communist China, 180 to East Germany and the remainder to other bloc countries. The cost of training in bloc countries, as well as of bloc missions to Cuba, is paid for by the Cuban Government through the payments agreements negotiated with each of those governments.

Consequences of economic orientation

The basis for the large trade of the Castro regime with the communist countries is not economic but political. This is evident from the fact that when Cuba was free to trade with any country, the Soviet bloc's share of its total foreign trade did not exceed two percent. Now it is about 80 percent. Major Guevara admitted the political character of Cuba's economic orientation toward the bloc on January 6, 1961 when discussing Cuba's request that the bloc buy its sugar. He said: "We could not ask the socialist world to buy that quantity of sugar at that price, but it happened simply as a political proposal." Castro's deliberately chosen economic dependence on the Sino-Soviet bloc has thus made Cuba admittedly dependent on bloc political decisions.

The economic consequences for Cuba of subordinating its foreign trade to the political dictates of the Sino-Soviet bloc have been serious. In 1961 Cuba will receive from 25 percent to 35 percent less foreign income than in 1959. Its receipts from sales in the key sugar industry will be substantially lower. As a result, labor is being forced to accept a reduction in wages and a generally lower standard of living.

About 75 percent of Cuba's export income is received only as a credit on the books of the central banks of the Sino-Soviet bloc countries with which it trades. Cuba must, therefore, accept the products which the bloc offers without regard to normal price and quality considerations. Moreover, to maintain the trade pattern deliberately chosen by the regime, Cuba must now orient and adapt its economy and industrial plant to utilize bloc exports. Realistic economic considerations play a small part in such a formulation. The Sino-Soviet bloc will satisfy Cuban requirements as long as the Castro regime develops in accordance with the communist plan and as long as Cuba provides the bloc with a communist beachhead in the Western Hemisphere. On the other hand, Cuba's dependence on bloc trade will leave Castro's regime little choice other than to develop and organize its economy in accordance with bloc designs. The nature of this new arrangement for Cuba was described by Major Guevara on January 6, 1961:

I want...to explain clearly the magnitude of the agreements signed in the socialist countries... and also to establish exactly what was the contribution of each party in these negotiations... The task was very difficult for we have had to change the structure of our trade... In a very few months the state has taken absolute control of foreign trade in our country... We faced difficulties: the socialist countries use the decimal system, we use the... system of pounds and so forth. The socialist countries measure electricity at 50 cycles per second, ours is 60 cycles per second. We will have to change all of this.

C. Cultural Relations with Bloc

Cultural relations with the Sino-Soviet bloc countries at first lagged behind relations in other fields. These relations have increased noticeably during the past ten months. It is important to point out that the pattern of Cuban cultural exchange with Sino-Soviet bloc countries is entirely different from that followed by other nations of this hemisphere and other free countries. What is involved is not a normal flow of outstanding concert artists, dance groups or sports figures, but a major reorientation toward the bloc in all phases of cultural activity. This has been accompanied by a deliberate severing of ties with countries of its own ethnic and historical background. The result is the imposition of an alien cultural pattern on the Cuban people for purely political reasons.

Cultural agreements

The new trend is eloquently illustrated by the cultural agreements the Castro regime has concluded during the past ten months. Prior to the San José Meeting, Cuba had signed cultural agreements with the Soviet Union (June 1960) and Communist China (July 1960). Subsequently, it negotiated a convention with North Korea (August 1960). In rapid succession thereafter conventions were concluded with Hungary, Rumania, North Viet Nam, Czchoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, Mongolia, Albania and East Germany. These agreements provided for the exchange of theatrical groups, exhibits, scientists, educators, writers and artists, as well as for mutual cooperation in the fields of press, radio and television.

Cultural exchanges

Under the stimulus of these agreements, cultural ties with the Sino-Soviet bloc have expanded on a broad front. In the field of the performing arts, the individual artists and groups who now go to Cuba are almost entirely from Iron Curtain countries. The former substantial flow of artists from other countries of this hemisphere and Europe has virtually disappeared.

In the field of education the same trend is evident. The number of student delegations who make the pilgrimage to Moscow and Peking far exceed those going to non-bloc countries. Cuban Government scholarship grants, under which the grantee formerly was allowed to select his own school, are now almost exclusively limited to Iron Curtain universities such as those in Leipzig, Prague and Moscow. At the same time, severe foreign exchange restrictions operate to prevent students from using their own resources to attend schools in countries outside the bloc. Another indication is the hiring of Soviet bloc professors and technicians

to take the place of non-communist Cuban professors and technicians who were forced to leave Cuba's three official universities through purges and involuntary resignations. Late in 1960 several Czechoslovakian professors reached Cuba, and on November 16 three Polish experts on technical and scientific education arrived in Havana under contracts to the Ministry of Education to begin a study of Cuba's technical school system. On December 3 the government-controlled press announced that several Soviet professors would be brought to the University of Havana for the coming semester as part of an exchange program with the Moscow People's Friendship University. In a speech of June 11, 1961, Minister of Education Armando Hart announced that Soviet bloc technicians and specialists in different branches of teaching were coming to Cuba and that the first twenty professors from Poland would arrive on July 29.

The new orientation is also to be seen in book stores, record shops and magazine stands, over radio and television and in movie theaters in Cuba. Current books and magazines from the United States, Latin America and Europe are no longer available. The same is true for phonograph records. Shelves are being filled with materials published by the Castro regime and arriving from behind the Iron Curtain. Cuban radio and television stations, now all in the hands of the government, increasingly rely on exchanges with Sino-Soviet bloc countries. To cite two examples, on February 11, 1961 the CMQ television network, the principal chain in Cuba, initiated an interchange of programs with bloc stations. The first program in the series showed a number of documentary films from Communist China depicting agricultural labor in the communes, work in factories, recreation in an aviation club and a travelogue on Communist China. On February 13, 1961 the Castro regime announced that Havana radio station CMZ and Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas (Czechoslovak Radio) would organize a series of international cultural programs and programs for children and youth. Under the arrangement the two stations would exchange literary, poetic and musical works in the two languages. Station CMZ agreed to organize the transmission of a week of Czech culture, while the Czech station would broadcast a week of Cuban culture.

In the field of tourism, Cuba and the Iron Curtain countries are facilitating travel with special tours at cut-rate prices, while tourism to other areas is made virtually impossible by foreign exchange restrictions. During the first week in December the Cuban National Institute of Tourism (INIT) signed a convention on tourism with its Soviet counterpart, INTOURIST, under which large numbers of Soviet tourists will visit Cuba during 1961, while groups of Cuban tourists will travel to the Soviet Union.

Press relationships

Cuba's government-controlled press now relies almost entirely on the Agencia Prensa Latina news agency for its international coverage, with frequent usage of despatches from TASS, HSINHUA and other communist wire services. Prensa Latina is a creation of the Castro regime which finances it and directs its policies. Prensa Latina is affiliated with TASS, the Russian news agency; HSINHUA, the Chinese Communist agency; CTK of Czechoslovakia; PAP, the Polish press service; several Japanese communist newspapers; and the Bulgarian agency BTA. TASS and HSINHUA maintain offices in Habana. A close working relationship between the Cuban press and that of the bloc is furthered also by the frequent visits of Cuban newsmen to the Sino-Soviet bloc and by the visits of Iron Curtain newsmen to Cuba. As ties with bloc news agencies have increased, use of news furnished by the wire services of non-communist countries has sharply diminished.

Friendship associations and other ties

The friendship societies which have been formed and the links which Cuban organizations have established with communist world organizations are another yardstick by which to measure the close cultural relations between the Castro regime and the Sino-Soviet bloc. In October 1960 Radio Moscow announced that the Soviet Union had created a special commission to handle friendship and cultural relations with Cuba. The Castro regime for its part set up an official agency called the "Cuban Institute for Friendship with Peoples", patterned after its Moscow prototype, the "Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship with Peoples", to handle cultural contacts with the Sino-Soviet bloc as well as other countries of the world. Earlier the Cuban and Communist Chinese governments had established friendship societies in their respective countries.

The major revolutionary organizations in Cuba covering students, youth and women were meanwhile forming ties with communist international front organizations. The Federation of University Students associated itself with the Prague-based International Union of Students. The Cuban Association of Rebel Youth established working relationship with the World Federation of Democratic Youth, located in Budapest. The Federation of Cuban Women initiated its participation in the Women's International Democratic Federation whose headquarters are in the Soviet sector of Berlin. All these international front organizations are dominated and controlled by the Sino-Soviet bloc and manipulated to serve bloc interests.

Implications of new orientation

In establishing close cultural relations with the Sino-Soviet bloc the Castro regime has also adopted their theory and practice that the control of culture is the responsibility of the state. In

Castro's Cuba the state determines what cultural values are and how they are to be disseminated. The free play of different cultural forces and expressions is no longer tolerated.

A principal objective of the Castro regime at the present moment is to reshape the image of the Sino-Soviet world in the minds of the Cuban people. The communist world is portrayed as a utopia of democracy, social and economic progress and scientific and cultural achievement which Cuba should imitate. At the same time the government is trying to destroy the friendly image of the United States and other free nations by attacking them as imperialist, nefarious and decadent.

D. Communist Domination and Control of the Castro Regime

As an active partner of the Sino-Soviet bloc, Cuba plays as effective a role for the bloc as any of the countries ruled by a communist party and directed from Moscow or Peking. The Castro regime is now so firmly committed in word and deed to the Sino-Soviet bloc that it would find it difficult to extricate itself even in the unlikely event that it wanted to do so. This is borne out by the communist penetration in the governmental structure, the implementation of communist policies and institutions within Cuba and the adherence to the international communist line.

Communist penetration of governmental structure

The principal figures of the Castro regime are admitted followers of Marxist ideology. Repeatedly they predict the inevitability of the triumph of the communist movement throughout the world. They proclaim that their revolution is in the vanguard of this movement in Latin America and is an example for Asia and Africa. Given this circumstance it is quite natural that the Cuban revolutionary leaders should welcome Cuban and foreign communists into the government. The international communist movement and the Cuban Communist Party (Partido Socialista Popular - PSP) have taken full advantage of this fact. Party members and adherents have moved in at all levels of the government, many of them exercising a determining influence in the making of decisions. But care has been taken not to identify the Cuban Communist Party with the government in order to maintain the nationalist, revolutionary façade of the Castro regime.

While present actions speak louder than past associations, it is noteworthy that the principal figures of the regime have all been associated with communist periphery groups. Prime Minister Fidel Castro moved in communist youth circles with such well-known leaders as Alfredo Guevara and Leonel Soto while he studied at the University of Habana. He first appeared in international affairs in 1948 as a young Cuban delegate to a regional student congress

sponsored by the communist International Union of Students (IUS). His brother Raúl emerged on the international scene as a Cuban delegate to the communist WFDY-sponsored World Youth Festival in Bucharest in 1953. Following the festival he visited other bloc capitals. In the summer of 1960 he went on a special mission to Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union under the guise of attending an olympic festival. Long an admirer of Mao Tse-tung, Major Raúl Castro has been one of the principal authors of Cuba's alignment with the communist countries. While in Guatemala, Major Guevara, an Argentine by birth, was an official of the communist-oriented government of Jacobo Arbenz. Fleeing from Guatemala to Mexico, he joined the Russian-Mexican Institute of Cultural Interchange (IICMR) and moved in communist circles in Mexico City. He has been the principal negotiator with the Sino-Soviet bloc countries.

A survey of the governmental structure reveals the degree to which officials who are communists or who have communist associations or antecedents now control principal functions. The presidency is occupied by Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado. As a law student during the 1930's, Dr. Dorticós was the regional organization secretary of the Cuban Communist Party in his home district of Cienfuegos. The two giant agencies which dominate the economic life of Cuba -- the National Agrarian Reform Institute (INRA) and the Ministry for Industries -- are in the hands of Captain Antonio Núñez Jiménez and Major Guevara, respectively. Captain Núñez Jiménez has a long record of association with communist-front groups and is a frequent traveler behind the Iron Curtain. He attended the communist-sponsored and controlled World Youth Festivals in Vienna (1957) and in Moscow (1959) and traveled on a special mission to the Soviet bloc in mid-1960. Until the recent merger of the Bank for Foreign Commerce of Cuba with the newly-established Ministry of Foreign Trade, Jacinto Torras served as the Bank's director controlling all Cuban exports and imports. He is now the Under Secretary of the new Ministry. Torras, a veteran member of the Cuban Communist Party, served for many years as the economic editor of the Party daily newspaper Noticias de Hoy.

The military and security establishments are likewise in the firm control of pro-communist elements. The Ministry for the Revolutionary Armed Forces which includes the army, navy, air force, and militia is under the iron-hand discipline of Major Raúl Castro. The newly-established Ministry of Interior charged with maintaining "public order" is headed by Major Ramiro Valdés Menéndez, former chief of Army Intelligence. Major Valdés, an avowed communist sympathizer, accompanied Raúl Castro on his special mission to the Soviet bloc in the summer of 1960.

In the labor field communists and pro-communists dominate the leadership. The CTC is in the hands of such staunch pro-communists as Jesús Soto, Organization Secretary, and Odón Álvarez de la Campa, Secretary for Foreign Relations. Although he does not occupy a formal position on the directorate, Lazaro Peña, the top labor figure in the Cuban Communist Party and former Secretary General of the CTC in a previous Batista administration, occupies an office in CTC headquarters and wields broad influence in the councils of the Confederation. Another member of the Cuban Communist Party, Ursinio Rojas, represented Cuban labor at the 45th International Labor Conference (Geneva, 1961).

Communist influence is prevalent in the fields of education and culture. The director of primary education in the Ministry of Education is Dulce María Escalona Almeida, a well-known figure in Cuban communist circles. Secondary education is in the hands of Pedro Cañas Abril who has been associated with communist-front groups for a long period of time.

The director of the Department of Culture of the Ministry of Education is Vincentina Antuña, a veteran member of the Cuban Communist Party, who made a lengthy tour of Communist China in 1960 and came back full of praise for its system. On the committee named by the Ministry of Education to rewrite the textbooks for the public school system there served such well-known communists as Captain Núñez Jiménez, Alfredo Guevara and Elías Entralgo.

At the University of Habana pro-communist army officers, Major Rolando Cubela and Angel Quevedo, president and secretary, respectively, of the Federation of University Students (FEU), purged all anti-communist opposition from the Federation. They affiliated the FEU with the communist International Union of Students (IUS). Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, one of the principal figures in the top command of the Cuban Communist Party and a professor of economics, exercises great influence in university councils.

Precisely who constitute the directorate of the Castro regime's massive propaganda apparatus is not known. Three top figures in the press are Carlos Franqui, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez and Baldomero Alvarez Ríos. Franqui, editor of the principal government organ Revolución, was at one time an employee of the communist daily Hoy. Alvarez Ríos, president of the Habana Newspapermen's Association, is a veteran member of the Cuban Communist Party. The movie industry is in the hands of Alfredo Guevara. The radio and television networks are under the management of a government-designated interventor, Cuban Communist Party member Gregorio Ortega. Another veteran member of the Cuban Communist Party, Paul Valdez Vivó, the assistant editor of Hoy, was appointed early in April to direct the Castro regime's principal information broadcasts.

Adoption of communist policies and institutions

Further evidence of communist domination is to be found in the fact that the Castro regime has transplanted Soviet and Communist Chinese policies and institutions to Cuba to carry out its revolutionary program.

Agriculture. The Castro regime promised an agrarian reform intended to break up large landholdings and to distribute them among individual farm workers. This was to fulfill the aspirations of Cuban farm workers who wanted to own and till their own land. The regime has not fulfilled this promise. On the contrary, in keeping with the agricultural policy adopted by the Soviet Union in 1928 and followed today, it has consolidated many small holdings into larger cooperatives or collective farms. It has not parceled out the large farms but converted them into cooperatives and collective farms. The current trend is in the direction of converting the cooperatives into collective farms. Landholding in Cuba is more consolidated than it was before the Castro-led revolution with the National Agrarian Reform Institute now the only latifundista in Cuba. INRA owns or administers the overwhelming percentage of Cuba's 14.6 million acres of tillable land. Its first annual report in May 1960 showed that the regime has distributed only 38,000 acres of land. If all pending distributions are made, INRA will have distributed a total of 421,711 acres. INRA is retaining the land which was in production at the time the government seized it and is distributing land not previously under cultivation. Furthermore, the land distributed does not become the property of the peasant to dispose of as he wishes. Transfers are subject to the approval of the state.

Late in January 1961 Fidel Castro announced that the government would establish "farms of the people" and "youth farms" where adults and children, respectively, will be taught modern agricultural methods. Dr. Castro also announced an exchange of 1,000 youths from the Soviet Union to work on these farms and 1,000 Cuban youths to go to agricultural cooperatives in the Soviet Union to learn their methods. Three hundred Soviet technicians arrived in Cuba on June 5 and a week later 1,000 Cuban youths sailed for the Soviet Union.

Industry. The Castro regime began to take control of major industries in Cuba by seizing firms owned in whole or in part by United States citizens. It has now seized over 70 percent of all industrial and commercial enterprises regardless of the nationality of the owner and in most cases without compensation. The enterprises in government hands are the most important to the economy. What remains under private control is for the most part small retail businesses. The seizure of business enterprises, while not by itself evidence of communist domination, responds, by admission of leaders of the Castro regime, to the communist theory that the

government must control the majority of enterprises in a country -- the "commanding heights", as Lenin put it -- in order to plan the economy and at the same time crush any opposition from the industrial and commercial community. The National Agrarian Reform Institute, to which the industries were first assigned, formed "trusts" for various types of industry in keeping with the Soviet pattern. With regard to small or private firms that have not been seized, Fidel Castro on July 26, 1961 announced that as the revolutionary process develops towards "socialism", these firms will be taken over by the state. In a recent government reorganization, the regime created a Ministry of Industries to supervise all present industrial activity and to plan future industrialization.

Trade. On February 23, 1961 the Castro regime announced a major reorganization of the governmental structure along Soviet lines. This included the establishment of a Ministry of Foreign Trade to handle the state monopoly of exports and imports and a Ministry of Domestic Trade to administer and plan for enterprises created, nationalized or managed by the state and to supervise the distribution of products internally.

Labor. The "26 of July" Movement after the Castro regime took power, won control of the labor movement in free elections. Toward the end of 1959 pro-communist elements, with the support of the government, forced their way into key positions of the directorate of the Cuban Confederation of Workers (CTC). From this vantage point they launched a methodical purge of democratic labor leaders in what was described as "purification of counter-revolutionary elements". By the end of 1960 they had completed the campaign of driving the anti-communist leadership of the labor federations into exile or hiding. In keeping with communist doctrine, since the workers had allegedly "inherited the state", the Cuban Confederation of Workers (CTC) ceased to represent the interests of the workers and became instead an arm of the state with the duty of disciplining labor to insure that labor followed the dictates of the regime. The Government now controls all labor policy, and a worker may not be hired or dismissed or change employment without permission of the state. His wages and conditions of employment are also determined by the government. The Castro regime has promulgated a ministerial resolution calling for the establishment of production norms which workers are required to meet. The communist and pro-communist leaders of the Cuban labor movement have withdrawn the CTC from participation in the democratic international trade union movements and at the same time established ties with the communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions.

Military - Security. Over the past two and one-half years the Castro regime has gradually built up a police state on the Sino-Soviet model. The first step was the immediate replacement of the

existing Cuban Army and police force by revolutionary units which had fought with Castro during the revolution in the hills and in the underground. Changes in the Navy and Air Force were accomplished through purges of top personnel. Toward the end of 1959 as disillusionment and opposition over the drift toward closer association with the Sino-Soviet bloc began to crystallize within the regular armed forces, the regime again shifted its basis of power, this time to the newly-formed civilian worker - peasant - student militia. Dr. Castro looked upon this militia as a presumably more reliable military force. For almost a year the militia maintained its status as a para-military organization under labor union and student federation leadership.

Then on September 29, 1960, Dr. Castro announced the reorganization of the militia along military lines. The chief of the corresponding military district took over command of militia units. Specially trained officers replaced the original militia commanders. Military training was stepped up.

As this was going on, the Castro regime was also building up its security network. Early in June, 1961, this process culminated with the establishment of a Ministry of Interior with responsibility for maintaining "public order". The decree centralized the various police and investigation units under the new ministry. It also gave the ministry authority to supervise the activities of "Committees for the Defense of the Revolution". These committees are responsible for informing authorities of "counter-revolutionary" activities or attitudes. A campaign is under way to establish 100,000 of such committees with 500,000 "volunteer" members in offices, factories, schools, churches, cooperatives, residential areas, etc. By centralizing the police function and combining it with a vast network of informers the Castro regime has established a security system on the Communist bloc model.

Education. In typical communist totalitarian fashion the Castro regime has seized control of the nation's entire educational system, introduced communist propaganda, destroyed academic freedom and terminated the traditional autonomy of the universities. All courses must now conform to the "revolutionary" line dictated by the government. Textbooks have been revised accordingly. Teachers either approve and teach revolutionary philosophy and objectives or are dismissed. A teaching manual recently published by the Ministry of Education for guidance of teachers in the literacy campaign is well flavored with communist propaganda. For example, under the chapter on "Friends and Enemies" it states:

We consider as our friends those countries which have already succeeded in obtaining absolute liberty and which help honestly and disinterestedly the nations which fight

against the colonialist yoke imposed by the imperialists. Those countries are the Soviet Union, Communist China and the other socialist states.

Under the chapter "War and Peace" it has this:

The Cuban people are on the side of those countries which proclaim a policy of peace and understanding among nations, a policy fostered by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

Minister of Education Armando Hart, during an extensive tour of the Sino-Soviet bloc countries, in May and June 1961, signed various types of agreements with eight bloc countries. On his return in describing these agreements to a correspondent of Bohemia magazine he stated: "It can be said that the plans signed cover all levels and all fields of education, science and culture and that through these plans we will greatly intensify our relations with our sister socialist countries".

Propaganda. The Castro regime has seized control of all news media: newspaper plants, radio and television networks, movie houses, the film industry and publishing houses. Not a single free newspaper remains in Cuba today. The state monopoly of mass communications gives the government the means to control what the Cuban people are to be informed. The jargon and dialectic used in the propaganda barrage needs only to be compared with that of the Sino-Soviet bloc to perceive its origin. As in Eastern Europe and Communist China the propaganda machine brands all opposition as "reactionary", "divisionist", "counterrevolutionary", "enemy of the people" or "imperialist puppets". Even anti-communists who fought with Castro against the Batista tyranny and who supported radical social and economic reforms are so labelled. As with Sino-Soviet propaganda, free nations are variously described as "colonialists" and "imperialists" and as constituting "the colonialist-imperialist bloc". The Cuban press describes them as "imperialist war mongers", while the Sino-Soviet bloc is referred to as the "peace camp" or the "peace-loving nations of the world". Western representative democracy is scorned in Cuba, just as it is in Communist China and the Soviet Union, as the "tool of the oligarchs and the imperialists". Instead the Castro regime eulogizes the "Peoples' Democracy" as seen in the Soviet Union, the Chinese Peoples' Republic and other bloc nations.

Adherence to the international communist line

The posture of the Castro regime on world affairs demonstrates that the affinity for the international communist line as dictated from Moscow and Peking has now become so close as to warrant the conclusion that Cuba has joined with the Sino-Soviet bloc in pursuing the same objectives.

Statements of government officials and the editorial line taken by government-controlled press and radio during recent months on major international issues reflect this most clearly. These have uniformly repeated the themes of "imperialist" aggression in Laos and the Congo and followed the Soviet lead in sharply attacking the United Nations for its role in trying to prevent chaos in the Congo. The government-controlled press compared Lumumba's defiance of the United Nations to Cuba's defiance of the OAS. In September 1960 Major Guevara, alluding to the ousting of communist diplomatic and technical delegations from the Congo, said: "Although a transitory defeat can be suffered, as it appears we have suffered in the Congo, in time we will see our cause advance."

The Cuban press in describing the 1956 uprising in Hungary and the 1960 revolt in Tibet follows the communist line of labelling them "reactionary fascist movements." Both Major Guevara and Major Raúl Castro have expressed approval of the measures taken by the Soviet Union and Communist China to suppress these movements. In an orientation lecture given at the Ministry of Foreign Relations late in October 1960, Manuel Yepe, the Ministry's Chief of Protocol, lectured on the subject of "Imperialist Aggression and the Case of Hungary." According to Mr. Yepe's version, the Hungarian uprising was nothing more than a fascist plot hatched by North American imperialism in order to divert world attention from the Suez problem.

Cuba has closely followed Soviet leadership in international forums. In the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations, for example, it voted with the Soviet bloc on almost every major international issue, including the Soviet disarmament proposals and the Congo question. Following the defeat in the Security Council on September 9, 1960, of the Soviet proposal regarding agreements reached at the Sixth Meeting of Consultation with respect to the Dominican Republic, Cuba's Ambassador to the United Nations, Manuel Bisbé, declared that Cuba shared the Soviet Union's interpretation of Article 53 of the United Nations Charter and that Cuba regretted the defeat of the Soviet proposal.

The Revolutionary Government turned over its diplomatic and consular affairs to the Embassy of Czechoslovakia in Washington following the rupture of Cuba-United States relations on January 3, 1961, thereby eloquently demonstrating where its allegiance lay.

THE THREAT TO INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENTS IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

Having established a "socialist" regime in Cuba on the Sino-Soviet pattern, the Castro regime now has as its primary objective the extension of fidelismo to the rest of Latin America. Cuban leaders have consistently spoken of their regime as a revolutionary example to be followed by other Latin American peoples, or as a "springboard for revolution." In this they have been supported by the Soviet Union and Communist China.

In a speech delivered on May 8, 1961, Major Ernesto Guevara explained how the process of overthrowing established governments in this hemisphere would be carried out. He said:

The Cuban revolution has given the Latin American people an example. The masses now know what can be done ... There are many who have no confidence in their strength. They feared imperialism. Although they knew, as we all know, that first the servants of the empire must be destroyed, they did not know how to do this. Afterward they came to know that the masses are made up in such a way that they will come into power, if not by peaceful means, then by violence. Concretely they learned that in America, there is a means -- by no means the only one, but a form which has demonstrated its effectiveness -- and that is guerrilla warfare. They then had an open road.

There are many stages between spreading revolution by "example" and promoting it by "guerrilla warfare." The Castro regime, with the full assistance of local Communist parties, is employing a wide variety of techniques and practices between the two extremes. It is bringing hundreds of students, labor leaders, intellectuals and dissident political leaders to Cuba for indoctrination and training to be sent back to their countries for the double purpose of agitating in favor of the Castro regime and undermining the stability of their own governments. It is fostering the establishment in other Latin American countries of so-called "Committees of Solidarity with the Cuban Revolution" for the same dual purpose. Cuban diplomatic personnel encourage and finance agitation and subversion by dissident elements seeking to overthrow established governments by force. The Castro regime is flooding the hemisphere with propaganda. It is distributing tons of printed material. The recent inauguration of a powerful short-wave station in Cuba now enables the Castro regime to broadcast its propaganda to every corner of the hemisphere. The training of Latin Americans in Cuba, Guevara's manual on guerrilla warfare, widely distributed throughout the hemisphere, and the statement by him quoted above are indications

that the Castro regime regards guerrilla operations as another important device in gaining its objectives. The large amounts of arms being accumulated by the Castro regime place it in a position to support such operations.

What this means is that Cuba today represents a bridgehead of Sino-Soviet imperialism and a base for communist agitation and subversion within the inner defenses of the Western Hemisphere. Fidelismo provides an ideological screen of nationalism and social reform behind which communist parties in the area are at work. This situation creates a serious threat to the individual and collective security of the American Republics and by extension to the security of the nations allied with the United States in opposing the expansion of Sino-Soviet imperialism.

August 1961

ANNEX A

CUBAN-SOVIET JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF DECEMBER 19, 1960

The Economic Mission of the Cuban Revolutionary Government, headed by Major Ernesto "Che" Guevara, was in the Soviet Union from October 29 to November 16, from December 8 to 13, and from December 18 to 20, 1960.

The mission's chief objective was the signing of a trade agreement between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba for 1961, pursuant to the trade and payments agreement signed at Habana on February 13, 1960.

The mission held a number of meetings at which technical assistance and cultural relations between the two countries were discussed.

The Cuban mission visited several cities in the USSR, numerous industrial centers, institutes and government offices, and had exchanges of views with various high-ranking officials.

During his stay in the Soviet Union, the head of the Cuban delegation, Major Ernesto "Che" Guevara, was received by Nikita Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

In its meetings with the Cuban mission, the delegation of the Soviet Union was headed by A. I. Mikoyan, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

The following persons took part in the talks as representatives of the Soviet Union: V. N. Novikov, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and Chairman of the State Planning Commission; N. S. Patolivhev, Minister of Foreign Trade; S. A. Skachkov, Chairman, State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; G. A. Zhukov, Chairman, State Committee for Foreign Cultural Relations; M. R. Kuzmin, Deputy Minister of Foreign Relations; A. A. Goreglyad, Deputy Chairman, State Scientific and Economic Council; P. I. Sakin, Trade Representative to the Republic of Cuba; and other officials.

In the talks on economic affairs, Cuba was represented by Major Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Chairman of the delegation; Hector Rodríguez Llompart, Assistant Secretary for Administrative Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Major Alberto Mora, Chief Director, Cuban Foreign Trade Bank; Major Eddie Sunol and Major Faure Chomón Mediavilla, Cuban Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

During

During the talks and the visit of the Cuban delegation to various places in the Soviet Union, the members of the delegation observed the success achieved by the Soviet Union in the development of socialism, and saw that it is advancing firmly toward communism.

The Cuban delegation was convinced that thanks to its rapid advance and development, its social way of life and its scientific well-planned economy, the Soviet Union will very soon catch up with the United States of America, the most highly developed capitalist nation in the world, and will quickly surpass it.

The delegation also saw that the housing problem, one of the most difficult problems faced by mankind in the capitalist world today, is being resolved very successfully in the Soviet Union, and they expressed admiration at the results obtained in this field. This is one of the greatest aspirations of the Cuban people that is still far from being realized.

The Cuban delegation had opportunity to note the great attention being given to the education of children in the Soviet Union and to their general development through the technical and cultural training of youth, which makes it possible to train each year a larger number of specialists and technicians than any capitalist country. This is the basis for ensuring the production of material values and achieving man's highest aspirations, such as the conquest of space.

The Soviet Union enjoys a tremendous advantage over capitalist countries, not only in scientific achievement, in both quantity and quality, but also in the peaceful use of these discoveries in the service of man, which is not the case in the capitalist countries.

The Cuban delegation confirmed that the launching of the first Soviet Sputnik into space opened up a new era in the history of mankind. This era is being initiated under the banner of socialism, headed by the Soviet Union, whose emblem, like a symbol of truth, has been taken to the moon, the natural satellite of earth.

The Cuban delegation recognized the sincere efforts of the Soviet Union to bring about world peace; efforts based chiefly on specific proposals on the peaceful co-existence of nations having different special systems and the clear and definite proposals for general disarmament put forward by Nikita Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union at the United Nations. All this is of still greater importance, if it is borne in mind that the country

that is

that is making these proposals for peaceful co-existence and disarmament is the most powerful nation on earth, whose success in the production of the most advanced and most threatening kinds of armaments considerably exceeds the results obtained by the entire group of militarist states.

The Economic Mission of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba brings a message of friendship and gratitude from the Cuban people and government to the people and government of the Soviet Union for the assistance given by an independent country that is in the vanguard of the socialist nations.

The Cuban delegation wishes to state that this assistance is being given in three ways:

First: pledges to construct complete industrial plants that can assure Cuba of having the principal items necessary for its industrial development, such as an iron and steel foundry and an oil refinery; and also pledges with respect to the development of oil and mineral deposits and the production of power.

Secondly: aid in the form of supplies of vitally important commodities that were cut off when the blockade of Cuba was ordered by the United States, especially the delivery of oil which has meant much effort by the Soviet Union and which gives proof of its present great economic power.

This is also reflected in the purchase of 700,000 tons of Cuban sugar, which amount exceeds the million tons agreed on in the Soviet-Cuban agreement, and which quantity the United States Government unjustly withdrew from the quota it had established for Cuba, a quota that formed part of an international agreement.

The third and most important aspect of the aid was the declaration made by Premier Nikita Khrushchev regarding the Soviet Union's willingness to lend Cuba full assistance in maintaining its independence against unprovoked aggression.

The delegation also noted the Soviet Union's efforts to protect the interests of the Republic of Cuba in international organizations at a time when this small republic has become one of the most sensitive spots in the problem of defending world peace.

The Soviet Union and Cuba have carried out their agreements, announced in Havana, to work together for world peace.

The Soviet authorities told the Cuban delegation of the admiration of the people and government of the Soviet Union for the Cuban people, who, under the leadership of Fidel Castro, have established a democracy deeply rooted in the people of a land that had for many years been under the imperialist rule of the United States of America.

Both parties realize that this creates a new situation in the Americas, and that the struggle of the Cuban people to be independent and to maintain their gains without losing ground is an example for the other nations of the Western Hemisphere and for Asia and Africa as well.

The Soviet nation realizes perfectly well the difficult road that Cuba must follow to ensure the happiness of its people under hostile military, political and economic conditions. In the political field, there is pressure by the United States on other Latin American countries to break relations with Cuba and isolate it from its neighboring American republics, and from the countries of Europe, Asia and Africa.

In the economic field, there is the failure of the United States to keep its commitment to buy Cuban sugar under the old trade quotas, which were established at the will of American imperialists themselves when Cuba was merely its colony.

There is, too, the establishment of a ban on exports from the United States to Cuba, exports necessary to its development and general well-being and to supply its industries and feed the Cuban people; the adoption of measures by the United States with respect to the establishment by other countries of embargoes in their trade relations with Cuba, with a view to preventing the Americas and Europe, through coercive measures, from trading openly with Cuba.

Direct military threats have been made by top-ranking representatives of the government of the United States of America; there have been pirate air incursions; bombing of the Cuban people and industries; the dropping of napalm and other incendiary bombs on sugar plantations, principal source of the nation's wealth; support of invasions of Cuba from United States soil with the intention and for the deliberate purpose of disturbing the peaceful development of the country; aid to counterrevolutionaries operating in Cuba as mere gangsters, stealing from Cuba means of transportation and killing those responsible for their custody, in order to be received as heroes in United States territory; support of counterrevolutionary groups operating in the country against lawfully established government, which groups receive all kinds of supplies from the United States, delivered by military aircraft from the United States itself and

bearing

bearing) the licenses and insignia of the United States army, that have fallen into the hands of the Revolutionary Government along with most of the members of such groups.

Provocation to acts of sabotage, paid for in dollars by United States agents, many of whom have been caught in their espionage activities; military and naval maneuvers in waters near Cuba for the purpose of provoking and intimidating the Cuban people and their government; the organization of training camps and bases to serve as a springboard for an attack on Cuba, established in Latin American countries, whose peoples are at the moment under the yoke of puppets of the United States; the landing of troops and intimidating training maneuvers at the Guantánamo Naval Base in Cuban territory itself; unjustly occupied by the armed forces of the United States of America, who have converted it into a source of constant threats against the Cuban revolution.

The Soviet Union declares that it is in sympathy with the measures being adopted by the Government of the Republic of Cuba; the agrarian reform that is being carried out there to guarantee the people greater social justice and a more stable economic basis for the subsequent job of industrializing the country; nationalization of all the foreign imperialist companies that for decades have been obtaining enormous profits at the cost of the hunger and sweat of the Cuban people; nationalization of the country's principal industries and its banking system to create a point of departure for future economic plans that will guarantee the growing prosperity of the Cuban people; the urban reform, putting into practice measures whereby the Cuban Revolutionary Government is meeting the demands expressed by Fidel Castro in his declaration of principles, "History Will Absolve Me," made before the military tribunal of the regime of the dictator Batista.

The Soviet Union warmly supports the "Declaration of Habana," which describes the aspirations of the Cuban people for new achievements in their economic and social development and represents a just reply to the "Declaration of San José," approved in Costa Rica.

The Soviet Union recognizes as just Cuba's efforts to maintain relations with its neighboring Latin American republics through a foreign policy independent of that of the colonial bloc the United States is endeavoring to maintain in that part of the world, and linked to the countries that are waging a just struggle for their freedom and independence beside other countries in the field of peace.

During

During the talks, complete agreement was reached on the economic questions. A trade agreement between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba was signed for 1961, providing for a considerable increase in the volume of trade between the two countries.

Under the agreement signed, Cuba will export to the Soviet Union raw sugar, nickel oxide, canned fruit juices, tanned hides, and other goods.

The Soviet Union will export to Cuba petroleum and its derivatives, metal products, rolled tin, wheat, fertilizers, chemical products, machinery, machinery supplies, foodstuffs in general and other articles required to ensure the uninterrupted operation of Cuban industry, the successful development of its economy and supplies of goods needed by the Cuban people.

An agreement was signed providing that the Soviet Union, pursuant to Cuba's wishes, will give technical assistance to the Republic of Cuba in accordance with the loan granted under the Soviet-Cuban Agreement of February 13, 1960, in connection with geological exploration for iron ore, chromium, petroleum and other minerals, and will deliver to it the necessary equipment and tools; the construction of metallurgical plants and expansion of the existing steel foundries; the construction of electric power plants and transmission lines; and the construction of a new oil refinery.

Technical assistance in the construction and expansion of facilities of the above-mentioned undertakings will be carried out by organizations of the Soviet Union through the necessary plans and drawings and any explorations needed, and the government of Cuba will be furnished with equipment, machinery and supplies that cannot be found in Cuba and with the installation of equipment and the work needed to put the enterprises in operation.

The agreement also provides for assistance by the Soviet Union to the Republic of Cuba in the training of Cuban specialists for various branches of the Cuban national economy. Under this agreement, the Soviet Union will train Cuban students as engineers in various fields of specialization and as scientists, skilled workers and industrial experts in Soviet companies.

The trade agreements between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba for 1961 were signed by A. I. Mikoyan, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, and Major Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Chairman of the Economic Delegation of the Republic of Cuba.

During

During their stay in the Soviet Union, the mission signed several multilateral payment agreements, regulating relations between the Republic of Cuba and the Soviet Union and various socialist countries. The Cuban peso will be the currency used under this agreement.

An agreement on cultural cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba was also drawn up, covering scientific, educational and artistic, as well as athletic, exchanges. It was signed by G. A. Zhukov, Chairman, State Committee for Foreign Cultural Relations, and Major Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Chairman of the Economic Delegation of the Republic of Cuba.

An agreement was reached that both parties should establish a program of practical measures during the coming year for cultural and scientific cooperation, which will be signed in Habana.

The two parties discussed the problems created for the Cuban economy by the economic aggression of the United States. The Soviet Union agreed to adopt all possible measures to ensure supplies of goods of vital importance to the Cuban economy that cannot be obtained in other countries, and also expressed its willingness to purchase 2,700,000 tons of Cuban sugar if the United States carries out its threat not to buy any more sugar from Cuba. If the United States buys some Cuban sugar, the Soviet Union will reduce its purchases by that amount, taking into account the existing agreement that requires the Soviet Union to buy one million tons of Cuban sugar annually and considering that the delivery of certain Soviet exports, such as petroleum, for example, for which there is a special agreement, will be paid for by deliveries of Cuban sugar.

The price of unrefined sugar was fixed, with due regard for the interests of the Cuban people, at four cents per English pound (f.a.s.). The Cuban representatives viewed with satisfaction both this fact and the spirit of solidarity demonstrated by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in helping Cuba, which is faced with economic aggression.

During the talks, the two parties discussed problems relating to the present international situation, and they reaffirmed their agreement in attitude toward the principal problems of mankind today.

The two parties denounce the militarist policy of imperialism, whose principal exponents are the monopolistic groups of the United States, as demonstrated in the following: persistence in carrying on

the "cold war"

the "cold war" and the aggressive "brinkmanship" evidenced by acts of espionage and open aggression, flights by United States aircraft violating the borders of the Soviet Union and other countries; attempts by imperialism to cause internal disturbances, encouraging discord within a country, as for example in Laos and the Congo, and hostility between nations for the purpose of repressing the desire for peace of all nations, as is happening in the Central American countries, which the United States is inciting to take action against Cuba; attempts to intensify the policy of combining aggressive blocs designed to subdue the desire of peoples for independence or to prevent such a desire from developing.

The establishment of military bases in other countries for the purpose of aggression against the Soviet Union and all the other socialist countries, and also against any other peace-loving states, in order to exert constant pressure on unstable governments and even directly to threaten those governments which, in conformity with the wishes of their peoples, are following an independent policy. As an example Guantánamo Base can be cited, which the United States is using to bring pressure against the people and government of Cuba.

Both parties denounced the arbitrary use of international organizations to carry out plans of the imperialist powers for world domination. Outstanding examples of this policy are the Congo, which is being dismembered and where an antinational government is being installed, and Cuba, "denounced" in the "Declaration of San José," for accepting the aid generously offered by the Soviet Union in case of aggression.

The two parties agree that it is necessary to settle without delay the problem of the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, whose place is now occupied by Chiang Kai-shek's minion. The two parties support the admission to the United Nations of the People's Republic of Mongolia, which has existed as a sovereign state for forty years and whose application for membership has been under consideration at the United Nations for more than fifteen years. Both parties steadfastly support the struggle being waged by various peoples against colonialism and agree that this dark period in the history of man should be ended as soon as possible. Accordingly, the two parties express their support of the Algerian people, who are fighting untiringly for freedom against the colonial oppression of the French Government, and they express their confidence in the successful outcome of the struggle being waged by the Algerian people, thanks to their tenacity and heroism and the solidarity of all the peoples of the world.

The two parties support the admission of the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Mongolia to the United Nations and demand a prompt solution of the Congo problem and recognition by the United Nations of the legitimate Congolese Government, headed by Premier Patrice Lumumba, who represents the Congolese people. Both parties request the release of Patrice Lumumba, who is now in prison.

The two parties share the view that it is necessary to achieve a peaceful unification of Korea and Viet-Nam, in accordance with the wishes of their peoples and without foreign intervention.

The atmosphere of these talks, the primary objective of which was to put a number of measures into effect and denounce absolutely the actions of imperialism, was marked by a desire to preserve peace throughout the world and to seek by every possible means a solution for the international questions now in dispute by peaceful methods alone.

Accordingly, the Soviet Union and Cuba declare that they resolutely advocate peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems and firmly support the proposals for disarmament and adaptation of the structure of the United Nations to the new world situation, which Nikita Khrushchev put before the members of the United Nations.

The two parties declare with utmost clarity that the peace of the world will never be endangered or violated in any way by the Soviet Union or Cuba.

(Signed): Anastas Mikoyan, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

Major Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Chief of the Economic Mission of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba.

Moscow, December 19, 1960.